1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4

177 particularly the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced Christianity, are exceptions to this rule. They have the same pitiful and humble appearance as the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, and Tungus, and carry out submissively each and every order of the cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of this branch of the Koryak.

727 During the time of the subjection of the Koryak, full-grown men in the villages or camps, unable to withstand longer the besieging Russians, often killed their dogs or reindeer, their women and children, and finally themselves, if they could not escape by flight. Such a state of things discouraged even the conquerors. Similar instances of wild self-destruction while battling for their freedom occurred later on as well, when the Russians were suppressing 669 the Koryak rebellions. These rebellions were caused by the levying of the fur-tribute (yassak), or by the demand of the Russians for hostages. These demands the Koryak refused to grant, though other Siberian tribes, with the exception of the Chukchee, complied with them.

(181) Strictly speaking, the Koryak were not on the whole opposed to the fur-tribute, which they considered an offering to the Czar; but the extortionate demands made by the cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves were contrary to the Koryak sense of justice and his love of freedom. The rebellious spirit of the Koryak was not crushed with the suppression of the revolts.[1]

609 An old man from the Kamenskoye village told me that he could remember seeing, when he was a child, Russian merchants accompanied by cossacks come to trade, and that, fearing an attack, they stopped outside the village. It was only when the Koryak came out to them unarmed that trade began. Even very recently the chief of the Gishiga district travelled through the Koryak villages and camps under the protection of an armed body-guard.

651 In the sixties of the last century the chief of the Gishiga district, Volkov, ordered a drunken Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to be beaten with rods when he came to Gishiginsk. The relatives of the man determined to flog the Russian chief in Kamenskoye, where he was expected to arrive as usual for collecting tribute of furs. When Volkov heard of this, he sent two cossacks for the tribute, instead of going himself. As soon as they arrived in the settlement, they were stretched out and flogged, and then sent back to Volkov to tell him that now he might come, since the indignity to their relative was avenged.[2]

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[1] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Russians and the Koryak, see the historical sketch in Chapter XIV.

[2] From the Report of Ratkevich, the successor of Volkov, chief of the Gishiga district, to the Governor of the Maritime Province, Dec. 31, 1886, No. 404 (Government Archives of Gishiga).

11 Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY 4 Koryak RY 4

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pay I had not expected that my question would offend them. In my intercourse for a number of years with other Siberian tribes, I had not only always come to an understanding with them about the pay for their services, but in most cases had set it myself. In cases where I offered less than was asked for, they never took offence.

Among those tribes there is no definite scale of prices for services in general, and obviously not for those for which I was the first to apply to them. Sometimes a native would ask of me at random the first thing that he saw in my tent, or in the house where I stopped, without taking its value into consideration. For instance; a girl from the Itkana settlement asked me, by the advice of her uncle, in return for permission to make a cast of her face, for a copper pot which I subsequently exchanged for a small skin boat.

After my experience with Euvi'npet, I did not haggle with the Koryak again when I had not come to a previous understanding with them. I often gave them more than they asked for, since they would ask for a trifle, when it happened to strike their fancy, in payment for quite laborious work. In the end, the Koryak left the settlement of the reward to me.

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I had another unpleasant experience among the Reindeer Koryak during the fair on the Palpal Mountains in March, 1901. Owing to the epidemic of measles that had been raging a short time before my arrival, I was not welcomed very cordially. By order of the old men, no one wished to be measured. A few men only, who acted independently and did not care for public opinion, consented to be measured two or three days after my arrival.

The women were angry when I applied to them for anything. They wished to get our presents, but they were afraid to disobey the old men. One young woman, tempted by the presents, began to dictate a tale to me. With her and my interpreter, I sat on a sledge outside. While she was dictating, an old woman came up to her and said something. Thereupon the young woman showed signs of impatience, and talked reluctantly. When I asked her to explain one place which I did not understand, she suddenly flung the presents at the interpreter and ran away into the common tent.[1]

Another woman, whom I asked to sell me the embroidered trousers for men which she was drying, replied angrily and with irony, "Go, go farther! Look for cutting-boards!" She was hinting at the fact that I had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to buy, from some women, cutting-boards with figures engraved upon them. However, the husband of the woman brought to me on the following day those very trousers.

It should be kept in mind, in connection with these remarks, that the Koryak look upon every traveller as an official of high rank. If I could have remained longer with the Palpal people, I have no doubt that our

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[1] See Part I, p. 77.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-02) 1906 R94 Koryak R94

relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to go to the Taigonos Peninsula.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the characteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians.

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing acceptable to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber. Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man.

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always treated my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose.

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was, either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Gishiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

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Ancient Forms of Social Life. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

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In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

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I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

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The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

771 609 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.[1]

784 609 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

[771] These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak,"[2] as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versâ*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 174 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

[1] See Part I, p. 32.

[2] See p. 407.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R44

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents [609]
generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other 572
imported articles. 574

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters 437
in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer. Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent. In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth, obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all [576]
other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply "Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti."

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; 761
but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character. Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps, is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to 476
relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need. 731

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social 174
life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached 565
the stage at which the nobility and the common people would appear as two 558
sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter, who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands 174
of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheri- 565
tance, might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of 556
aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgin, "neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

[1] See Part I, p. 104.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--289-290 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 164, 177, 273, 609

"In both cases a request to be allowed to take photographs was readily complied with, and permission granted to enter the dwellings. One old lady at Karaga, although quite blind, (1) left her balagan at our request, [290] descended the rickety pole-ladder which

1. The only other ailments noticed were lameness in the case of one young man at Karaginski, and a bad cough in the case of the old man at Karaga.

led to it, and posed herself for a picture. In both cases European stores of various kinds were preferred to money, and in the case of the islanders money was refused. Lastly, the people of the two villages [Karaga and a village on Karaginski Island--Analyst] were similar in their desire for strong drink, the word 'rhum' being a part of their somewhat limited European vocabulary."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

greateſt ceremony, and bear every affront. It was never heard that the ſettled *Koreki* did the leaſt injury to any of the wanderers; and this is ſo firmly believed, that our tax-gatherers think themſelves entirely ſafe, when they converſe with thoſe who live in huts, if they are guarded by one of the rein-deer *Koreki*: which may appear very ſtrange, conſidering that the ſettled *Koreki* are much their ſuperiors in ſtrength; and it can only be attributed to that general reſpect which poor people pay to the rich: for the poverty of the ſettled *Koreki* is ſo great, that they depend upon the others in a great meaſure for their cloathing. The rein-deer *Koreki* call the others their ſlaves, and treat them accordingly; but they behave very differently to the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are ſo terrible to them, that fifty of the rein-deer *Koreki* dare not ſtand againſt twenty of theſe; and if it was not for the protection of the Coſſacks of *Anadir*, the *Tchukotſkoi* would have rooted them out by this time. As every nation has ſomething commendable, ſo the *Koreki* are more honeſt and induſtrious than the *Kamtſchadales*, and ſeem to have a greater ſenſe of ſhame.

It is difficult to form an exact account of the numbers and different families of the *Koreki*, but it is thought that all together they are more numerous than the *Kamtſchadales*. They[1] live in ſuch places as abound with moſs for their rein-deer, without regarding the ſcarcity of wood or water: in the winter time they can uſe ſnow for water, and for firing moſs or graſs, of which they have plenty every where. Their manner of living, eſpecially in the winter time, is ſtill more diſagreeable than that of the *Kamtſchadales*: for being frequently obliged to change their habitations, the huts which they come into are all frozen; and when they begin to thaw them by the fires, which are uſually made of green ſhrubs or graſs, there ariſes a ſmoke, ſo pernicious to the eyes, that it is enough to blind a perſon entirely in one day.

1. [i.e.; the Reindeer Koryak -- Analyst]